THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1774. THE NUMBER 419.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

OPEN TO ALL PARTIES, BUT INFLUENCED BY NONE.

WILLIAMSBURG: PRINTED BY CLEMENTINA RIND.

All Persons may be supplied with this GAZETTE at 12*s.* 6*d.* a Year. ADVERTISEMENTS, of a moderate Length, are inserted for 3*s.* the first Week, and 2*s.* each Time after; long ones in Proportion.——PRINTING WORK, of every Kind, executed with Care and Dispatch.

From the PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

To the EARL *of* DARTMOUTH.

My LORD,

THE report to be made upon the petition from the house of representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, against their governors, will have so decisive an influence on the people of that province, that I feel myself compelled to address your lordship on the subject.

A discovery is made, by letters under their own hands, that the governor and lieutenant governor had been secretly labouring to subvert the chartered rights of the colony, to subject the people to arbitrary government, and subdue them by military force. It appeared, that to accomplish these ends, they had painted the proceedings of the people in the most false and odious colours; forging falshoods where misrepresentation would not suffice.

All this was conducted under the cloak of secret and confidential correspondence, that the mischief might come upon them unforeseen, the causes unknown, and the authors undiscovered. The people were to be the victims of a secret information; they were to be condemned without being heard, and punished with the heaviest of all calamities, the loss of their rights and liberties, without being apprized of the accusation, or a possibility of defence.

The persons who planned and executed this atrocious, and (for upon principle it cannot be deemed less) this treasonable conspiracy against the constitution, stipulated their expectations of reward.

It was natural that this discovery should exasperate the people to an extreme. They saw, in the persons of those who were thus planning their destruction, men bound to them by all the ties of fellow citizens, and the obligations of gratitude; men who had been long cherished, trusted, and honoured, among them, and who had always professed the most zealous attachment, which virtue and gratitude could inspire, to their rights and interests. This was more especially the case of their chief governor, who was, at that very time, practising every art to fix in the minds of the people an exalted opinion of his warmest affection for them, and of his unremitting endeavours to promote their best interests at the court of Great Britain. They saw besides in the mode of this attempt against them something peculiarly malignant. The ministry were sufficiently disposed to adopt every severity again them. Governor Bernard and the commissioners were sufficient to keep up their prejudices and passions. To poison the minds of those in opposition, and by that means to deprive the people of every benefit, either from the efforts of that opposition, or from a change of administration, was the diabolical plan of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

Had the popular indignation been followed by the most immediate and tragical consequences no one could have been surprized. Happily, however, the very men whom the governors had aspersed as the sowers of sedition and promoters of outrage, prevailed upon them to trust to his majesty's justice for redress. For this purpose the house of *representatives* have, in humble petition, implored his majesty's intervention to remove these men, because they have lost all trust and confidence with the people. It is this prayer to which you are now to advise an answer.

It is well worth considering, my lord, what will be the consequence of an ungracious, irritating answer. For some years past the people of America, and those of Boston in particular, have been abused, misrepresented, and oppressed, beyond the example of the worst of times. They have seen, for a series of years, every representation against them received, every application for them rejected. When the authors of the secret informations, which tended to bring upon them the displeasure of their sovereign, the resentment of parliament, and to subvert their liberties, were providentially discovered, and their representations proved false and wicked; the consequence has invariably been the encouragement and reward of those so detected. The discovery of governor Bernard's false and malignant letters, with the frauds he committed in his office, served only to make him a baronet with what is equivalent to an enormous pension. Mr. Oliver was charged upon the oaths of several of his majesty's council, and by their unanimous resolution, with a most dangerous breach of trust, in having forged minutes of their board, and authenticated them on oath, for the purpose of justifying a massacre committed by a licentious soldiery, and to throw the blame of it upon the people. What was the consequence? Not punishment, but promotion. The people saw, with astonishment and horror, this very man, thus stigmatized,* immediately promoted to be lieutenant governor.

These are facts, my lord, of public notoriety; they are facts, which, speaking to stones, would make them capable. Rewards have followed crimes as constantly as light the sun. Promotion and emolument in America have been exactly proportioned to mens perfidy to the people, and their avowed enmity to their immediate country. No people can be so dull as not to feel these injuries; no people can be so pusillanimous as not to resent them. Reiterated oppressions, detections, complaints, and disappointments, have worked up mens minds to the highest pitch of resentment and despair. The measure is now full; one drop more may make the waters of bitterness overflow, to the destruction of the most valuable commerce of this country, and the irreparable injury of the whole dominion.

The people of the Massachusetts Bay have asked humbly, and waited patiently, for justice, against Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver. That the tax was artfully thrown in to irritate and incense them to violence was not their fault. Infamous, inimical, and odious, as the governors have rendered themselves, they have been suffered to sleep in security. A confidence in his majesty's justice, a hope that the eyes of his ministers would be at length opened, have suspended their resentment. In my opinion, my lord, this is the last effort of expectation and endurance.

I have not yet heard a denial or publication of the letters upon which their petition is founded. But it has been said that the letters cannot be admitted as evidence unless the manner in which they were obtained be declared. This rule of evidence is of the first impression, and as rational as it is new. We ought at least to be told in what book of evidence it is to be found; in what court, in what case, it was ever urged or admitted. The North Britons have kindly undertaken to reprint and correct our books; perhaps it is to be found in some Scotch editions of our law books and reports. New modelling our law has been long the favourite object of our *smiling* friends from that quarter.

Governor Hutchinson has acknowledged, in his answer to an address from the council, that some of the letters bear his signature; they stand therefore as matter of record, the verity of which cannot be affected by the manner in which they were obtained. Not that I have heard it even insinuated by any reputable person that they were procured by any undue means. It seems, therefore, that the objection is not that they were unfairly obtained, but that idle, perhaps impertinent, curiosity is not gratified by knowing how they were procured.

When a noble lord, for so his patent obliges me to call him, produced the essay on woman in the house of peers, was any enquiry made into the manner of procuring it? On the contrary, though it was soon proved that the mode of obtaining it was in violation of all honesty and good faith, did not both houses of parliament proceed to the severest censure, and the court of king's bench to the heaviest judgment, against the ostensible author upon the evidence of that essay so flagitiously obtained? And are we now to be told that the malefactions of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver shall escape punishment upon this pretence?

I have dwelt too long upon an objection utterly contemptible, and which, but for the high and dangerous tendency of it, would not merit a moment's consideration.

My lord, the single question is, whether men, who have rendered themselves universally obnoxious to the people, shall be continued in authority over them? To determine in the affirmative is to set the sentiments of the people at defiance. Is there any man so wicked as to wish, or so weak as to expect, that a government, conducted on such principles, would be secure or lasting? The folly of government may be sometimes forgiven; its injustice never. But when folly and injustice unite, it must be odious, weak, and contemptible. A little time, my lord, will shew that government, in the hands of obnoxious men, is too arbitrary, too inconsistent, with the genius of the people, to be long endured. No reasoning can reconcile them, no force can subdue them, to it. It is justice only that can ensure submission; for as judge Blackstone observes: "It is found by experience, that whenever the unconstitutional oppression, even of the sovereign power, advance, with gigantic strides, and threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity, nor will sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to those political maxims, which were originally established to preserve it." My lord, an attempt to establish government in America by military force, must be ultimately fatal to this country. It will commence in folly and injustice; it will end in distress and humiliation.

RALEIGH.

* *See proceedings in his majesty's council at* BOSTON, October 4, 1770.

Mrs. RIND,

IT is a very common, and, I believe, a very just complaint, that the college of William and Mary hath as yet been far from answering the ends of its institution, and, indeed, those ends which might reasonably be expected from a college so well endowed. Superior in its revenues to any literary establishment upon the continent, it hath fallen greatly short of some of them as a seminary of learning. To suppose that the gentlemen who have been entrusted with the management of it have been always in fault would certainly be very unfair. Many of these, without doubt, have been both ably qualified and heartily inclined to promote its good intention. But a wrong mode of education, at the first adopted, and since too blindly followed, together with an evil which the professors had no power to remedy, seem to have frustrated all endeavours to make it flourish. A grammar school at the foundation of the college was annexed to it, a measure which at that time might have been dictated by the circumstances of the country, and the low state of the funds, but which experience has since taught us to be attended with many bad consequences. Little or no distinction is made between the boys of this school and the students of the college. Entitled to, or at least indulged with, nearly the same privileges, the former too soon forget that they are boys, and the latter too seldom perceive that they have a superior character to maintain. As this is not merely speculation, but real matter of fact, it is surely worthy of the most serious attention of the visitors. The revenues of the college are now much encreased, the assembly has ever shewn a willingness to assist it, and a large extent of country is equally populous, and equally well cultivated with that in the neighbourhood of Williamsburg. What then is there to prevent the visitors from removing the grammar school to some of the college lands, at a distance from the metropolis; for instance, to those in King William? Every thing necessary for the accommodation of the boys could there be easily procured, temptations to idleness and vice would be less common, seeing none enjoy greater liberties than themselves, they would be satisfied with their portion, nor would they languish for such as it would be improper to grant them. Having compleated their classical education there, then let them be removed to the college. This removal would create in them a higher idea of the dignity of a student. They would look upon themselves as entering upon a nobler scene of action; a scene wherein puerility was to be exchanged for the manly and philosophical life. I can easily foresee that the step which I have proposed would meet with opposition from those in and about the city of Williamsburg. But if it be considered that this grammar school was intended for the benefit of the public, and not of individuals, that by such a removal no general inconvenience could be produced, but that several good consequences, as shewn above, would result from it, their opposition must appear selfish and unreasonable.

The great imperfection in the present mode of education seems to be this; that instead of a regular process in their studies, the students are permitted, for the most part, to attend what lectures they please, and in the order most agreeable to themselves. That such a liberty will put it into their power to waste much of their time is very evident. For instance, a student chuses to attend lectures upon natural philosophy. As these are not given oftener than twice in a week, he has four days entirely at his own disposal. For these, it is true, he may find sufficient employment, in making himself acquainted with what different authors have said upon the immediate object of his study; but he is under no obligation to do this. If he is indolent, or vicious, or fond of pleasure, he has it in his power to indulge himself. And thus, after throwing away three or four of the most precious years of his life, does many a youth quit the college with only the *credit* of having been so long there. Degrees have been indeed lately conferred on some few students; and from this it might be presumed, by a stranger, that these at least had gone through a regular course of education. This, however, as far as I have been able to learn, was not the case. Some of them were acquainted with the classics, others with the mathematics, others had attended lectures upon rhetoric and moral philosophy, but none had run the general circle, none had been called to an examination, previous to the conferring of this literary honour upon them; a custom in all other colleges and universities. The impropriety of this mode of education is so very apparent, that any farther demonstration of it would be an insult upon the most common understanding.

An improvement upon the present plan would, I think, require another professor, whose business it would be to read with the students the higher classics, and to give lectures upon chronology, geography, and history. Part of this duty is at present expected from the moral professor, but he has, exclusive of this, as much as he can well perform; and these are branches of literature with which every man of liberal education ought to be acquainted.

The students should be divided into three classes, which might be distinguished by the titles of seniors, juniors, and freshmen. The qualifications of such as enter the freshmen, or lower class, ought to be a good acquaintance with the Latin and Greek school authors, and with arithmetic. At their entrance into college, they should begin with algebra, under the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, logic under the moral professor, and Horace, Homer, or some other classic, under the other, whom we will call the professor of humanity. Euclid's elements should succeed to algebra, metaphysics to logic, and chronology and history might be intermixed with the classics. This would be ample employment for the first year. Let them then be

examined, and as many as are approved of raiſed into the junior claſs. Such as are deficient, ſhould be obliged to remain amongſt the freſhmen another year. The juniors ſhould begin with plain trigonometry, which they might apply to ſurveying, then proceed to fluxions, conic ſections, and ſpherical trigonometry, which might conclude the buſineſs of the ſecond year in this department. The ſame period, in the other two, ſhould comprehend the ſtudy of moral philoſophy, and of Cicero's moral works, with other Roman and Greek moraliſts. Let them be again examined, and either preferred to the ſenior claſs, or continued juniors, as they acquitted themſelves. The ſtudy of natural philoſophy and aſtronomy, of rhetoric and the beſt Engliſh poets, of the Roman and Grecian critics and orators, together with a general review, ſhould be the buſineſs of the third and laſt year of their college education. Let, then, ſuch as chuſe to ſtand for degrees, be examined by the profeſſor, either privately, or before a few of the viſitors, in every branch of academical learning. If they paſs this with credit, let a day be appointed for public examination, when every one, who is inclined, may attend. Afterwards it may not be improper to fix a day for public exerciſes, when each candidate may have an opportunity of diſplaying his abilities as a writer and an orator. At the concluſion of theſe exerciſes, let them be rewarded with thoſe honours which ought only to be conferred upon the ſons of ſcience. Theſe two laſt regulations, though not abſolutely neceſſary, would have this uſe: They would give ſatisfaction to the country, raiſe the reputation of the college, and be a powerful incitement to the youthful mind, which is ever fond of pomp and public applauſe.

(We are obliged to defer the remainder of ACADEMICUS *till next week.)*

Mrs. RIND,

DISAGREEABLE as it is to me to ſubmit any thing I can write to the examination of the public, and painful as it is to arraign the conduct and religious principles of a gentleman with whom I have ſo long lived in a ſtate of intimacy and friendſhip, yet juſtice to ſome injured characters, a love of truth, and a regard for our excellent eſtabliſhment, demand that I ſhould lay aſide the baſhfulneſs of an author, and be deaf to the ſolicitations of friendſhip.

In vindication of the characters juſt mentioned, I muſt declare, that I have heard Mr. Henley frequently avow the ſame opinions which Mrs. Nicholas affirmed to the veſtry ſhe had heard him maintain; that the treaſurer advanced nothing, as my teſtimony, in his letter in Purdie's paper of February the 24th, 1774, but what I had authorized him to ſay, and that I authorized him to ſay nothing but what I can prove. And further, I do declare, in juſtice to Colonel Bland, that I have heard Mr. Henley comment on ſome verſes in the 1ſt chapter of Hebrews in the very manner in which the ſocinians explain them, and that I, as well as the colonel, from that circumſtance, concluded him a ſocinian: I think I can prove that ſeveral others have heard Mr. Henley make the ſame remarks on that chapter. As to ſome inſinuations that I have betrayed *confidential converſations*, I ſhall juſt obſerve, that I have related nothing which he has ſaid to me in private, and declare, that he always appeared to me to be fond of publiſhing his doctrines. Had Mr. Henley truſted me alone with his religious tenets, had he not appeared to me to be deſirous of propagating them, I ſhould have been far from deſiring to diſcover them to world; had they been only *volatile expreſſions*, thrown out in the ſallies of private and confidential diſputation, his character would have been unimpeached, and I ſhould not now be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of affirming that this was not the caſe.

Both truth and juſtice oblige me to take notice of Mr. Henley's groſs miſrepreſentation of a matter of fact, and of part of my teſtimony, in his pamphlet, page the 29th. The fact was this: Mr. Henley once took occaſion to ſay ſomething concerning the *trinity*, which Mr. Andrews and myſelf, the only perſons then preſent, thought, and we ſtill think, amounted to a *denial of the divinity of the ſon and holy ghoſt*. I aſked him if theſe were his ſentiments how he could "ſay the firſt ſentences of the litany?" To which he replied, that he did not read the ſentences I alluded to as they are commonly read; and then he attempted to repeat them, ſo as by laying an *emphaſis* on ſome words, he might appear to exclude the idea of *divinity* from being affixed to the words *ſon and holy ghoſt* in thoſe ſentences. It is evident that the purport of my queſtion was, how he could deny the *divinity of two perſons of the adorable trinity*, and yet uſe that part of our church ſervice in which he muſt addreſs each *perſon* expreſsly as GOD; and it as clear, at leaſt is to me, that by his anſwer, he denied that he did pray to them as GOD. The litany, and manner of reading it, were mentioned as now related, and upon no other occaſion; and yet Mr. Henley repreſents this part of my teſtimony as amounting to no more than a trifling diſpute concerning the manner of pointing and accenting the *litany*. Mr. Henley's manner of repeating the litany appeared "ſtrange" to me; it was new, and appeared to be a miſerable evaſion, which at firſt I really could not well ſee the force of; to explain which, and to confirm, in ſome meaſure, this part of my teſtimony, I muſt beg leave to inſert here ſome extracts from the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1774. *Theophilus Lindſey*, vicar of Catterick, Yorkſhire, being diſſatisfied with the *doctrine of the trinity*, and ſome of the thirty nine articles, and obſerving that "the devotions of the church are framed in ſtrict agreement with the articles, and correſpond with them more eſpecially in what relates to religious worſhip, looked upon his continuing to officiate in them as a conſtant *virtual* repetition of his ſubſcription." He had applied with the petitioners to parliament for relief in vain. "In this ſtate of things (ſays he) I had no choice left, but either to change the public ſervice of the church, and make it ſuch as I could conſcientiouſly officiate in, or quietly to retire. I could not reconcile myſelf to the former, becauſe I looked upon the declaration of conformity and ſubſcription to be ſuch ſolemn ties, that I could not be eaſy under ſo great a violation of them." He therefore very conſcientiouſly reſigned his vicarage. He ſays, in his agology,, that whilſt he officiated, he took this method to ſatisfy his mind: "I brought myſelf to conſider the *trinitarian form in the liturgy, and the threefold re-invocations of the entrance of the litany*, as a *threefold* repreſentation of the one GOD, the *father*, governing all things *by himſelf, and by his ſon, and his ſpirit*; and as a threefold way of addreſſing him, as *Creator* and original benevolent cauſe of all things, as *Redeemer* of mankind by his ſon, and their *ſanctifier* by his holy ſpirit." This may explain what I meant when I fell into the *odd phraſeology* Mr. Henley points out in his pamphlet, page 28. But to ſhew that my conſtruction on the manner of his repeating the litany was juſt, I muſt make one more extract from Mr. Lindſey's apology: He ſays, he went on in this manner, "till, from ſome providential awakenings, it appeared to me a *blameable duplicity*, that whilſt I was praying to the one God the Father, the people that heard me were led, by the language I uſed, to addreſs themſelves to *two other perſons*, or diſtinct intelligent agents, for they would never ſubtilize ſo far as to fancy the *ſon* and holy ſpirit to be merely two modes, or reſpects, or relations of God to them."

Theſe extracts require no comment; but as Mr. Andrews does not recollect what paſſed between Mr. Henley and myſelf concerning the litany, I muſt obſerve that they are a pretty good proof of the truth of my account of that part of our converſation; for it muſt be obſerved that I had given in my teſtimony to the treaſurer before Mr. Lindſey had publiſhed his apology in England. But although Mr. Andrews (now the reverend Mr. Andrews of York town) does not remember this, yet he recollects, what is ſo very material, that I have obtained his permiſſion to publiſh ſome extracts from a letter which he wrote in anſwer to one of mine, in which I deſired him to give me an account of what paſſed between Mr. Henley and us relating to the trinity. He ſays, "Mr. Henley, after mentioning ſeveral parts of a religious diſpute which had happened between him and a gentleman in England, told us that the gentleman at laſt aſked him how he defended the *doctrine of the trinity* from ſcripture, thinking (he ſaid) to triumph over him in this point. But herein (he ſaid) the gentleman was diſappointed, as he aſſured him that *he himſelf did not believe that the doctrine of the trinity was taught in the ſcriptures*. I remember that I was ſilent upon the occaſion, and that you made ſome ſhort obſervation, which I have now forgotten. I remember alſo that we changed the ſubject, unwilling to hear more of what had ſo direct a tendency to deſtroy that good opinion of Mr. Henley which we were deſirous of entertaining. As ſoon as Mr. Henley left us, we communicated to each other our ſurprize at his diſbelief of a doctrine, to which, as a clergyman, he muſt have ſolemnly ſubſcribed, and alſo at his diſcovery of this diſbelief, eſpecially to me, with whom he had an acquaintance of but a few hours. I may perhaps be miſtaken in ſome circumſtances, as almoſt three years have ſince elapſed, and as our inclination was rather to forget than to retain what we had heard; but with reſpect to what was ſaid concerning the TRINITY *I have no doubt*." Mr. Henley ſays, page 23, "it may perhaps happen that I am impeached, not for denying the *doctrine of the church*, but the doctrine of *Mr. Page*." I think the above extracts will ſhew, pretty clearly, whoſe doctrine it was, and how far my "teſtimony is in Mr. Henley's favour." See his pamphlet, page 66.

I will make no farther remarks at preſent, leſt I ſhould prove troubleſome to you at this buſy time, and engroſs too large a part of your paper. I am, Madam, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JOHN PAGE, *of* ROSEWELL.

AGREEABLE to the act of aſſembly for clearing rivers and creeks, the court of Cumberland have appointed commiſſioners to agree with any perſon or perſons, willing to undertake the clearing of Willis's river, in the ſaid county. The ſubſcribers give notice that they will attend at Horn Quarter Bridge, on the ſaid river, on Thurſday the ninth day of June, to let to the loweſt bidder the ſaid work. Bond and ſecurity will be required of the undertaker for the due performance of the ſame.

George Carrington,	*Thomas Tabb,*
John Woodſon,	*Robert Smith,*
Joſeph Calland,	*Joſeph Carrington.*

IN May 1773, or near that time, I gave my bond to John Reid, of Amherſt county, for 125l. currency, payable in April, 1774: I forewarn any perſon from taking ſaid bond of Reid, as I will not pay any of the money till ſuch time as the ſaid Reid fulfils his bargain with me, 2 CHARLES SIMS.

VIRGINIA, ſc.

At a general court, held at the capitol, the 7th day of May, 1774.

Philip Ludwell Grymes, ſon and heir of the honourable Philip Grymes, Eſquire, deceaſed, and John Grymes, Charles Grymes, and Benjamin Grymes, the younger ſons, and deviſees of the ſaid Philip Grymes, plaintiffs, againſt
Benjamin Grymes, gentleman, one of the executors of the laſt will and teſtament of the ſaid Philip Grymes, deceaſed, defendants,
} IN CHANCERY.

ON the motion of the plaintiffs, and for reaſons appearing to the court, it is decreed and ordered, that the ſaid defendant give ſufficient ſecurity for his future due and faithful adminiſtration of his ſaid teſtator's eſtate, and that he be enjoined from intermeddling in any manner or degree whatever with the ſaid eſtate until ſuch ſecurity be given, or until the further order of this court concerning the ſame. BEN: WALLER.

WILLIAMSBURG, *May* 19.

Laſt Saturday evening there fell a ſhower of hail in Glouceſter county, which did conſiderable damage to the wheat. In ſeveral places there were hailſtones as large as gooſe eggs; many as large as hen eggs. In ſome places, and particularly near Mr. Willis's mill, the earth was covered ſeveral inches deep with hail as large as piſtol bullets. The hail and rain fell together ſo violently there, that they filled the buckets of the wheel, and ſet the mill to work, and carried round the works for a conſiderable time with great velocity. The water in the pond was not within a foot of the wheel, for the dam had but lately been made up; and this fact Mr. Willis and Mr. Peter Whiting, who had taken ſhelter in the mill houſe, were witneſſes of. This account is atteſted by a gentleman of undoubted veracity. From ſeveral other parts of the country we are informed, that the hail was ſo large as to ſtrip luſty trees of their leaves and limbs, and alſo killed abundance of cattle, horſes, hogs, &c.——The wheat fields and meadows, ſays the ſame correſpondent, both in Glouceſter and York, are terribly infeſted with a kind of worm or caterpillar. They have done conſiderable miſchief to the corn, and to the tobacco which has been planted.

As there was a probability that our ſiſter colonies might have received ſome late intelligence from England reſpecting the proceedings of the parliament againſt them, and as we are ever willing to convey any accounts which may in any wiſe tend to benefit the public, and guard them againſt the oppreſſive conduct of our enemies at home, we reſerved the publication of our paper until the northern poſt ſhould arrive, in hopes that we might have preſented our readers with the ſentiments entertained by the Boſtonians, and in what manner they intended to proceed; but, according to the papers from thence, they have not received ſo late information as *ourſelves*, relative to this noiſy and troubleſome affair.

Arrived, the Liberty, Outram, in York river; Brilliant, Bennet, from Glaſgow, Aſſiſtance, Pariſh, from Whitehaven, Nancy, Cuningham, from Hull, Succeſs, Green, from London, and Peggy, Fiſher, from Liverpool, in James river; Naſſau, Wignell, and Molly, Parry, from Liverpool, Neptune, Kennedy, from Glaſgow, and Muir, Richardſon, from Antigua, in Rappahannock,

☞ The members of the ſociety for promoting USEFUL KNOWLEDGE are deſired to meet on *Tueſday* the 31ſt of *May*.

At a time when the liberties of the colonies are daringly infringed, and deſpotiſm is exerting her baneful influence in the minds of thoſe who wiſh not well to the juſt privileges of America, *it certainly behoves every wellwiſher to her rights, and more eſpecially a publiſher of intelligence who has her cauſe ſincerely at heart, to lay openly thoſe matters which may, in any reſpect, tend to the diſcovery of arbitrary or illegal meaſures, threatened by the mother country towards us. Under this head, the printer of this paper conceives herſelf obligated to convey to the public the late deſpotic proceedings of the h——e of c——s in the moſt ample manner, and to brand with infamy thoſe unprecedented reſolves which they have ſo precipitately entered into. But without a minute detail, with reſpect to the many paragraphs in the* Engliſh *papers, for and againſt this injured country, and which are ſo frequently blended as materially to contradict each other, we have rather adopted a more permanent authority, by introducing a few candid pieces, ſufficiently deſcriptive of the oppreſſive proceedings of the* PARENTAL *country towards her dutiful and filial children. Nor have we neglected an* ADDRESS, *which, however curious, is left to our readers, whether it deſerves their approbation or contempt. The illegal and unwarrantable act of parliament, paſſed on the 30th of* March *laſt, and principally aimed againſt the* Boſtonians, *whoſe patriotic conduct on ſo intereſting an occaſion deſerves the higheſt applauſe, will not, it is hoped, quell their free ſpirit, now the ſtorm is beginning, and more eſpecially as there are ſo many united colonies to protect her at ſo critical a juncture.*

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

THE ſtate of America is now becoming the ſubject of ſerious conſideration. Every real friend to that country and to this muſt rejoice that it is ſo. Not only the diſtreſs of both countries, from the preſent meaſures, calls for that conſideration; but, what is of the utmoſt moment, the prevention of a national enmity being ſubſtituted for that confidence which formerly cemented us together. That enmity muſt enevitably ariſe from continuing a ſyſtematic attempt in one part of the empire, to employ its ſuperior force in ſubduing the other to her arbitrary will. Can it but be felt as an act of tyranny never to be forgiven, if we employ our power not for the purpoſes of *protection*, but of *oppreſſion?*

But this deliberation muſt, to anſwer any great and good purpoſe, be conducted with candour, juſtice, and wiſdom. Temporary expedients, violent, partial, and precipitate counſels, ſerve only to encreaſe the diſeaſe, which they pretend to cure. The inflamed ſtate of the ſubject requires a tender hand and lenient applications. "We have already tried what advantage is to be found in governing *by force*, and have no reaſon to be *proud of the experiment*." The great concerns of a great nation ſhould be meaſured upon a ſcale of proportionable magnitude. To ſpeak again in the words of a wiſe and benevolent prelate, "a great, liberal, commanding ſpirit is wanting; ſuch as has appeared rarely in modern times, but was better known to the ancients, which, without computing and calculating what is ſtrictly due, can extort affection and gratitude by public ſervices, *which can ſacrifice little, and even great intereſts to the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid, permanent authority, founded on juſtice and moderation*, which, permitting her ſubjects to enjoy and improve all their natural advantages, can always avail herſelf of their wealth and numbers for the defence, or the glory of the empire, and is ſure to find the moſt powerful reſources of government *in their friendſhip and love*."

Let juſtice and moderation govern the exerciſe of our ſupreme authority over our colonies, and they will embrace us again with hearts full of joy and acquieſcence. Let a great and liberal ſpirit go forth from hence, and it will be received in America with ſatisfaction, and obeyed without reluctance. Let the gentle hand of commerce and of requiſition, and not the red right arm of power by arbitrary taxation, draw from her the produce of her ſoil, and the ſurplus, if there be any, of her wealth. She will miniſter thus to our wants, to our ſtrength, to our grandeur, not only without repining and without complaint, but with cordiality and zeal. But

— — — Differt ſummiſſe pudenter
An rapias. — — — —

Too long have our regiments inſulted their ſtreets, and our ſhips harraſſed their harbours. Too long have we worn the face, without the advantages of hoſtility. Alas! no advantage can ever be derived from it, becauſe a victory would be our ruin. It would be a conqueſt over ourſelves, over the conſtitution and the commerce of this country. For if the being taxed by our own conſent only, given by our repreſentatives, be not the vital ſpirit of our conſtitution, what is ſo? If we aid in raviſhing this right from America, with what juſtice can we claim it for ourſelves? Let us not then eſtabliſh a precedent which may conclude fatally to the whole kingdom.

Is not the commerce with America of the laſt importance to this country? Will a military force, or irritating avenging meaſures, retrieve what our ill policy may loſe? Is commerce a ſubject of compulſion? Shedding blood would therefore be an act of ſavage rage, not of ſound wiſdom. It will not redeem, but utterly ruin our commerce. But the Americans will not oppoſe force by force. They will uſe a much more irreſiſtible mode of oppoſition. I do not ſpeak it to inſult, but to inform. I love and revere this country. I know it is the wiſh of America to love and revere this country, not as ſlaves but as ſubjects. Their oppoſition will be ſilent, and its operation will be ſure, though ſlow. No cunning can elude, no force can fruſtrate its effects. Our commerce muſt ſink under it. The ſuperior power of this country will endeavour to aid it vain. That power will find itſelf in the ſituation of Volſcens:

— — — Nec teli conſpicit uſquam
Auctorem, nec quo ſe ardens immittere poſſit.

And for what is it that we are to hazard theſe conſequences? We are to fix a badge of ſlavery upon America, to eſtabliſh for ourſelves a barren revenue. Have our own burthens received one ſhilling alleviation from this American tax, ſo arbitrarily impoſed, ſo obſtinately maintained? Is there any man in his ſenſes who expects from it any national relief? On the contrary, are we not this moment at the expence of a military eſtabliſhment in America, for this ſole purpoſe, twenty times greater than was ever incurred before in times of peace. If our juſtice is baniſhed, where is our wiſdom? Is not all this encreaſing our expences and our diſtreſſes, without an actual, without a probable equivalent? Is it not putting our beſt commercial advantages to the hazard, without any emolument if we ſucceed, without any retribution if we fail? Is this wiſdom, or is it folly, in the extreme? Is it ſpirit or inſanity? This paradoxical policy which propoſes

Per damna, per cedes ab ipſo
Ducere opes, animumque ferro?

Are theſe the means of relieving the diſtreſſes of this unhappy, this exhauſted country? Becauſe her burthens are already greater than ſhe well can bear, with *all her* ſources of wealth, are we therefore to lop off *one* of her beſt, her *ſureſt reſources*, our American commerce? That commerce from which the merchant, the trader, the manufacturer, the farmer, all draw the fruits of their toil, and the very means of ſupporting our national burthens. That commerce from which the beſt bulwark of our iſland, the navy, derives the ſtrongeſt ſinews of her ſtrength. That commerce which already furniſhes ſuch conſiderable ſupplies for the ſupport of government.

Theſe will be our triumphs; theſe our ſucceſſes. But will theſe feed the ſtarving manufacturer? Will they reimburſe the ruined merchant? Will they compenſate the injured revenue? Will they man our navy, or miniſter any relief to the whole kingdom under the diſtreſs of a general ſtagnation of manufactures and of trade? Will it ſatisfy the calls of hunger, or alleviate the diſtreſs of bankruptcy, to read in the papers that our troops have put fifty thouſand Americans to the ſword, our fleets have laid the cities of Boſton and New York in aſhes?

When we talk of maintaining our power over the colonies by ſevere laws and military force, we ſhould conſider the wiſdom of Queen Mary's obſervation, which applies equally here:—"That the ſtate of every king conſiſts more aſſuredly in the love of the ſubjects towards their prince than in the dread of laws made with rigorous pains."* When the diſtreſſes our conduct will in all human probability occaſion, bear hard upon us, when the emergency of a war calls for our military force at home, and all our ſtrength abroad, it will then be too late to recollect the wiſe obſervation which Tacitus aſcribes to a Britiſh King, when *this country* felt its *day of foreign oppreſſion*, Metus et terror eſt infirma vincula caritatis, quæ ubi removeris, qui timere deſierent, odiſſe incipiant.

Dread and terror are but weak bonds of attachment, and upon their diſſolution, when fear ends, hatred begins.

JUNIUS AMERICANUS.

* 1ſt Mary, Ch. 1. St. 1.

A WORD of EXPOSTULATION *from the* KING, LORDS, *and* COMMONS, *to the* AMERICANS.

High and mighty,

THE people of England having been for ages acknowledged the ſupreme head of all the dominions belonging to the imperial crown of this kingdom, they naturally exerciſed from the firſt period of their political exiſtence a power to make laws for their provinces, and as naturally imagined that the ſame principle of equity which ſupported the *right* of their legal pre-eminence, would always ſupport the neceſſary ſuperiority of their intereſt over their various dependencies.

In this opinion they were no leſs juſtified by reaſon than confirmed by preſcription. Common ſenſe ſeemed to dictate the propriety of rendering partial benefit ſubſervient to general good; and as in the hour of their diſtreſs the dependencies conſtantly applied to the mother country for protection as a *right*, the mother country, of conſequence, judged herſelf entitled to a reciprocal *right* of demanding their dutiful obedience to her government. This obedience ſhe expected particularly from the American colonies, becauſe the Americans were wholly the creatures of her own formation, owed their entire being to her indulgence, and poſſeſſed no one immunity that did not evidently flow from the ſpontaneous ſource of her immediate beneficence.

While the people of England mention this they are reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of refuting a very favourite prejudice which has been eagerly inculcated beyond the Atlantic, relative to the prodigious patriotiſm of the original ſettlers in the colonies; they therefore take leave to obſerve, as the preſent deſcendants of theſe ſettlers talk very loudly about the virtue of their anceſtors in ſeeking for liberty through the immenſe wilds of the weſtern world, that very little praiſe is due to them upon this account. The weſtern world was not acquired by their ſpirit, but given to their timidity, in the moment of peril, when they baſely fled from the cauſe of freedom, and left the intrepid ſons of genuine independency to oppoſe the inroads of tyranny; they then ſought a refuge in the Engliſh dominions of America, againſt that oppreſſion which they had not courage enough to reſiſt at home. The mother country, like a true parent, forgot their faults, and tenderly adminiſtered to their neceſſities; ſhe gave them lands to cultivate, ſhe protected them againſt all their enemies, and no ſooner was her own conſtitution reſtored than ſhe granted them every privilege which ſhe herſelf enjoyed, as far as the local circumſtances of both could give the enjoyment poſſibility.

From this ſimple ſtate of things, the people of England are convinced that the original ſettlers in America were rather the obliged than the obliging, and that their migration proceeded much leſs from a love of true liberty than an abject dread of being oppreſſed, they were willing to poſſeſs freedom, but they would not fight for it. An effort of this active patriotiſm was left entirely for thoſe whom they deſerted, though ſo much is now ſaid of their public ſpirit; and their deſcendants are very willing to inherit all the bleſſings they derived from the goodneſs of their mother country, though they think it an intolerable ſeverity to pay a proper ſubmiſſion to her laws.

The people of England, in vindication of their own conduct, find it further neceſſary to obſerve, that the argument of charters, which the colonies make uſe of in their claim to an exemption from parliamentary juriſdiction, is by no means concluſive on the preſent ſubject. The crown has no right to make any grant prejudicial to the intereſts of parliament; the power of the parliament is the power of the people; and the crown was even taken away at the revolution from the reigning prince becauſe he exerciſed an authority repugnant to the welfare of the kingdom. There is in this place ample room to animadvert upon the gratitude of the colonies in wiſhing for privileges evidently injurious to their benefactors. There is alſo a copious opportunity of commenting upon the patriotiſm of America in thus endeavouring to render the prerogative of the crown ſuperior to the legal ordinances of parliament. But the people of England will neither enter into animadverſions nor into comments that muſt be diſagreeable. They will only remark, that it is much ſafer for the Americans to be ſubjects to the kingdom than to the king of Great Britain; and that if the throne is once allowed a privilege of governing in the mother country, contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of law, it will very ſpeedily contend for the ſame privilege in the provinces of America.

The people of England now proceed to the chief complaint of the colonies, the want of repreſentatives in the parliament of Great Britain, and confeſs they hear it with ſome degree of aſtoniſhment, as the colonies themſelves declare a repreſentation utterly impoſſible. If granting them a proportionable number of repreſentatives in the legiſlature of the mother country was practicable from conſiderations of locality; or if they had applied for a right of ſending members to deliberate on the laws which they oppoſe, and were refuſed, then, indeed, they would have reaſon to find fault; but when they have never once deſired to be repreſented, nay, when they peremptorily pronounce on the total impoſſibility of the circumſtance, the people of England think it rather ſevere to have that urged againſt them as a crime, which is really their misfortune, and think it ſeverer ſtill to find their juſtice continually impeached, for the purpoſe of reſiſting their conſtitutional authority. If a diſcretionary power is any where to be lodged in the preſent diſpute, the people of England are humbly of opinion that the Americans may as well rely upon the tenderneſs of the mother country, as the mother country depend upon the gratitude of the Americans.

If the power of taxing the one at will is dangerous in the hands of the other, is not the power of diſobeying laws at will to the full as dangerous in the hands of the colonies? The moderation of the parent is ſurely equal to the duty of the child; and ſurely as a conceſſion muſt be made either by the former or the latter, the conceſſion will be leaſt diſgraceful on the part of the daughter.

In this opinion the people of England are the more grounded, becauſe the Americans complain only partially of wanting repreſentatives in the Britiſh parliament; they acknowledge that the laws with Great Britain as inſtituted for the regulation of their trade are perfectly legal, though they were no more repreſented in the formation of theſe laws than in the acts which lay an immediate tax upon their property.

It will not conſequently be ſo mighty a derogation from their dignity, if they acknowledge the right of that power to levy a trifling duty upon their wealth, which they allow to preſcribe limits in the acquiſition of their whole fortunes. On the contrary, men of ſenſe muſt wonder to hear the Americans gravely eſtabliſhing a diſtinction between internal and external taxation; to hear them declaring all ordinances unjuſt with regard to their intereſt, in which they have not concurred, and yet to hear them at the ſame time confeſſing that the chief, by which they can be affected, are unqueſtionably equitable without their concurrence.

(We cannot poſſibly inſert the whole of this piece at preſent; the next paper ſhall contain the remainder.)

The following letter is ſuppoſed to be written by the famous Edmund Burke, *of the houſe of commons.*

From the MORNING CHRONICLE.

To the Right Honourable Lord NORTH.

MY LORD,

AS queſtions of the higheſt national importance are now to be decided, and as meaſures pregnant with danger and ruin are meditated, permit an *American* to relate a few hiſtorical facts, which merit your moſt ſerious attention. This is propably the only addreſs you will receive on behalf of the colonies; when friends, convinced of the efficacy of reaſon or truth in the preſent conteſt, have reſolved to leave the Britiſh government to gain wiſdom by the more certain, but expenſive means of unhappy experience; concluding, that the conſequences which muſt reſult from one hoſtile effort againſt America, will produce more conviction than volumes of argument. But as the public papers have been for ſome weeks abandoned to thoſe incendiaries who wiſh to ſpread carnage and deva ſtation through America, I ſhall make one ſolitary attempt to fruſtrate their hopes, and vindicate the claims of the colonies.

At the diſcovery of America, no perſon imagined any part of that continent to be within the realm of England, which was circumſcribed within certain known and eſtabliſhed limits. Whatever was the title of the kings of England at that time, to any ſhare of America, it muſt have been an acquired title; and the ſovereign then had, and ſtill has, an undoubted prerogative right, to alienate for ever from the realm without conſent of parliament, any acquiſition of foreign territory. This right has been conſtantly exerciſed by the kings of England at almoſt every treaty of peace, and at the ſale of Dunkirk, &c. and it was particularly manifeſted by the act for annexing Gibraltar to the realm. Conformable to this prerogative right, king James I. and Charles I. did alienate unto certain perſons, large territories in America, and by the moſt ſolemn compacts, did form them into ſeparate civil ſtates, with all the powers of diſtinct legiſlation and government; particularly thoſe of making peace and war, coining money, pardoning crimes, conferring titles and dignities, erecting and incorporating boroughs and cities, eſtabliſhing ports, harbours, &c. with a grant and releaſe of all ſubſidies and cuſtoms, to be levied within the ſame, and an expreſs exemption from foreign taxation. This is evident from the moſt antient charters of Virginia and Maſſachuſetts Bay, but eſpecially from that of Maryland, which I have particularly ſtated in another performance. From theſe charters it manifeſtly appears to have been the royal intention to form theſe colonies into diſtinct ſtates (like Jerſey, Guernſey, Iſle of Man, &c.) dependent on the crown, but not on the parliament of England; and conformable to this intention, we find that when a bill was ſeveral times brought into the houſe of commons, to ſecure the people of England a liberty of fiſhing on the coaſts of America, meſſages were ſent to the commons by thoſe monarchs, requiring them to proceed no further in the matter, and alledging that "America was without the realm and juriſdiction of parliament;" and on this principle the royal aſſent was withheld, during all thoſe reigns, from every bill affecting the colonies. Theſe and other facts which appear on the journals of parliament, joined to the charters of the colonies, fully demonſtrate that they were really and intentionally created diſtinct ſtates, and exempted from the authority of parliament. And their inhabitants having on the faith of ſuch fundamental terms and conditions, accepted, cultivated, and improved the territories thus granted, have an indefeaſible right to maintain and enjoy the privileges ſo acquired; and nothing but an act of union, made with their own conſent, can annex them to the realms, or ſubject them to its legiſlature.

The right of the crown to alienate the ſoil of the colonies, has not been diſputed; but the right of exempting their inhabitants from the juriſdiction of parliament, has been denied without cauſe. *Allegiance and ſubjection* are due from a people to their ſovereign; but the allegiance of ſubjects to ſubjects, is an abſurdity unknown to the laws of this kingdom. The freedom of Britons conſiſts in this, that they participate the power of making thoſe laws by which they are governed; and wherever this freedom is enjoyed, the legiſlative power muſt neceſſarily be confined to thoſe who partake of it, either in perſon or delegation; ſo long as the people of America reſided within the realm, ſhared in its government, and were protected by it, ſo long they were neceſſarily bound to obey, and ſupport that government; but when, by the conſent of their ſovereign, they migrated to Ireland and America, though they continued within the king's allegiance, yet ceaſing to participate or enjoy the legiſlative power of this realm, the operation of that power over them neceſſarily terminated; and nothing more was neceſſary to emancipate the people of America from the authority of parliament, than to permit them to leave the realm; which nobody will deny the king's right of doing; and ſhould the people of England, by their delegates, continue to exerciſe the powers of legiſlation and taxation upon the coloniſts, after ſuch ſeparation from the realm, they muſt exalt themſelves to the ſovereignty of America, and render the inhabitants of that country, the *ſubjects* of *ſubjects*; a condition more humiliating than thoſe of the Spartan *Helotes*; for if a people be ſubject to any ſupreme power, in which they have no participation, whether it be legal in a ſingle perſon, or in thouſands, the power is *deſpotiſm*, and the ſubjects of it are *ſlaves*.

After the death of King Charles the Firſt, the commonwealth parliament which uſurped the rights of the crown, naturally concluded, that by thoſe rights they had acquired ſome kind of ſupremacy over the colonies of America; the people of New England had indeed approved their proceedings, and were therefore left without any exerciſe of ſuch ſupremacy by the commonwealth parliament; but Virginia, and other places, having held out for the king, were reduced by force; and the conditions on which they ſubmitted, clearly diſcover that the ſupremacy, claimed by this parliament, was no more than *nominal*.

The articles of the treaty were as follow:

"I. The plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, ſhall be and remain in due ſubjection to the commonwealth of England; not as a conquered country, but as a country ſubmitting by their own voluntary act; and ſhall enjoy ſuch freedoms and privileges as belong to the free people of England.

"II. The general aſſembly as formerly ſhall convene and tranſact the affairs of the colony.

"III. The people of Virginia ſhall have a free trade as the people of England, to all places, and all nations.

"IV. Virginia ſhall be free from all taxes, cuſtoms, and impoſitions whatſoever, and none ſhall be impoſed on them, without the conſent of their general aſſembly; and that neither forts nor caſtles ſhall be erected, nor garriſons maintained, without their conſent."

From hence your lordſhip may diſcover, that the rights of the colonies, in thoſe early days, were acknowledged; and that even thoſe who had brought a monarch

to the ſcaffold had the moderation and juſtice to *reſpect* and preſerve thoſe rights. Nor did the Virginians eſteem the privileges granted by this treaty as any valuable acquiſition; for (conſidering themſelves as a *diſtinct ſtate*) they in January, 1659, inveſted Sir William Berkley with the government, and proclaimed Charles the ſecond king of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia, ſome time before his reſtoration to England.

After the reſtoration, the act of navigation, and that of the 15th of Charles II. were paſſed; but theſe I have fully conſidered in another place; as alſo that of the 25th of the ſame reign, which for the regulation of commerce (as the preamble expreſſes) firſt laid duties on certain articles in the colonies. This, however, was held to be ſuch an infringement of their rights, that a general revolution enſued in Virginia, and the king's governor was depoſed; and when after Bacon's death, this inſurrection ſubſided, agents were ſent to England, to *remonſtrate* "againſt taxes and impoſitions being laid on the colony by any authority but that of the general aſſembly." And this remonſtrance produced a declaration from the king, under the privy ſeal, dated the 19th of April, 1676, declaring, "that taxes ought not to be laid upon the proprietors and inhabitants of the colony, but by the common conſent of the general aſſembly, except ſuch impoſitions as the parliament ſhould lay on the commodities *imported into England* from the colony." And though the duties which had given riſe to this remonſtrance and declaration were not wholly repealed until ſome time after, yet when a ſupply was wanted for the ſupport of government in Virginia, the king, in 1679, framed (in England) an act for the purpoſe, and ſent it thither by Lord Colepepper, when it was paſſed into a law, and "enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the conſent of the general aſſembly of the colony of Virginia, &c." Here we ſee the ſovereign naming himſelf as a part of the legiſlature of that province, and thereby manifeſting that he conſidered it as a *ſupreme legiſlature*. For if the colonies be a part of the realm, it is a violation of the great charter of king John, and the bill and declaration of rights, for the king perſonally, or by his governors, to join any other aſſembly than the parliament, in any act for raiſing money from them; it is to ſubject them to complex taxations, which are repugnant to the Britiſh conſtitution.

In the year 1663, the territory of Carolina was erected into a principality, with the powers of a diſtinct ſtate; and ſo jealous were the lords proprietaries of theſe privileges, that they even denied the king's right of appointing a vice admiral therein for trying offences committed without the principality; and Joſeph Morton, the governor, was diſmiſſed from the government for having accepted a commiſſion of vice admiral from the king.

In 1691, when the new charter of Maſſachuſetts Bay was granted by king William, the agents thought it not adequate to the deſerts and expectations of the province, and were unwilling to accept it. This, however, the majority of them, after conſulting the moſt able lawyers, reſolved to do, and in juſtification of their conduct, ſubſcribed an inſtrument containing the reaſons of it. The laſt article of which will ſhew the idea then entertained of the rights of that province: "The colony (ſay theſe gentlemen) is now made a province, and the general court has, with the king's approbation, as much power in New England as the king and parliament have in England. They have all Engliſh privileges and liberties, and can be touched by *no law* and by *no tax*, but of their own making." Nor had the people of New England any reaſon to alter this opinion of their rights until ſince the concluſion of the laſt war; no impoſition upon them having in that long interval been attempted by parliamentary authority. There are many other facts which might be adduced to the ſame purport; but theſe will ſuffice to ſhew that the claim of the colonies to the privileges of diſtinct legiſlation and government, and to an exemption from parliamentary taxation, are not new, as ſome have ignorantly or wickedly pretended. They will alſo ſhew, that from the earlieſt years of their ſettlement the rights of the colonies have been known, and with but little variation have been acknowledged, reſpected, and maintained, even by the legiſlature of this country; and the few inſtances which have happened to the contrary may be conſidered as uſurpations of the ſtrong againſt the weak; and "*quod ab initio injuſtum eſt, nullum poteſt habere juris effectum.*" Grotius. There are other grounds, however, on which the adverſaries of the colonies have choſen to manage this conteſt; and upon theſe grounds I ſhall meet them in my next. I am, my lord, your's, &c. E. B.

Mrs. RIND,

BY inſerting the following propoſals, for the conſideration of the houſe of burgeſſes, in your uſeful paper, you will oblige a great number of your readers.

1. That it be enacted, that the veſtries of every pariſh be elected, by their pariſhioners reſpectively, every ten, twelve, or fourteen years, which will effectually remedy the many and various impoſitions, and illegal and arbitrary meaſures, that are ſo frequently and juſtly complained of; it will quiet and eaſe the minds of numbers of the pariſhioners, will prevent the frequent applications to the aſſembly for redreſs, and will thereby ſave a great deal of time and expence.

2. That for the diſpatch of buſineſs in the county courts, and a more effectual method of coming at juſtice, it be enacted, that the courts in every county reſpectively, or a majority of them, be empowered, on ſome court day annually, to nominate and appoint twenty four days of the fitteſt and ableſt men of their county (not being of the bench, nor of the bar) to ſerve as jurymen for the year enſuing, twelve of whom to attend and ſerve, if required, every court day, either alternately or indiſcriminately, or the whole twentyfour, when ſo many of the cauſes are ready for trial as to require two juries in one day, the ſaid jurymen to be ſubjected to a fine or penalty for nonattendance, or refuſing to ſerve when required, unleſs in caſes of ſickneſs or diſability, or other reaſonable excuſe, be offered to the ſatisfaction of the court; and when a ſufficient number of the ſaid jurymen be not preſent, that then the ſheriff to ſummon enough of the byſtanders to make up the deficiency; that they, or ſuch of them as ſerve, ſhall be paid, by the party caſt, ſome moderate fee, juſt enough to defray their reaſonable expences. Moreover, that whenever there are to be any new magiſtrates added to the commiſſion of the peace, the court ſhall nominate, for that purpoſe, ſome of the ſaid jurymen who have ſerved the moſt conſtantly and diligently, and none elſe. This may encourage the jurymen to inform themſelves with the laws of their country, and inſtil in them a better notion of equity.

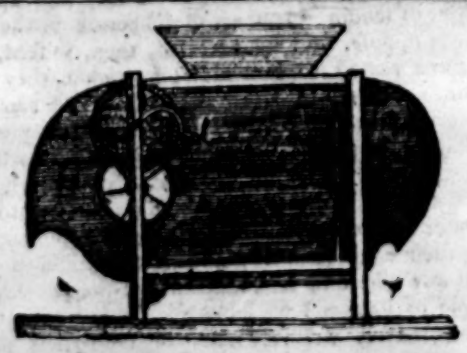
By this, or ſome ſuch law, the preſent evil of weak juries will be removed, the cauſes will be determined with much more diſpatch and juſtice, and in time our benches will be filled with abler magiſtrates.

Mrs. RIND,

The encloſed was intended for your laſt paper, but by ſome accident miſcarried. Your publication of it this week will oblige A CUSTOMER.

ON Monday the 2d of May was celebrated in Norfolk the anniverſary of Saint TAMMINY, the tutelar ſaint of the American colonies. At one o'clock a royal ſalute of twenty one guns from a battery erected for the purpoſe, uſhered in the rejoicings of the day, and in the evening a grand entertainment was given at the Maſon's Hall by the ſons of the ſaint, to which there was a general invitation, and the company exceedingly numerous and brilliant, conſiſting of near 400 perſons. At ſix, the ball was opened by one of our worthy burgeſſes, in the character of King TAMMINY, properly accoutred in the antient habit of this country, at which time another royal ſalute was given. The ladies, whoſe fair boſoms on this occaſion ſeemed more particularly animated with a generous love of their country, indulged the company with their preſence till four in the morning; and after their retirement, the ſons of Saint TAMMINY, according to the immemorial cuſtom of theſe countries, encircled their *king*, and practiſed the antient myſterious *war dance*, ſo highly deſcriptive of the warmeſt attachment and freedom of ſpirit. The whole was conducted with the ſtricteſt decorum, and to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the aſſembly; while the cordiality with which the ſons of the *brother ſaints, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick*, and *St. David*, entered into the general mirth of the evening, gave particular pleaſure, and was truly emblematical of that happy union which has long ſubſiſted between the parent ſtate and her colonies, while *Britain* was *juſt*, and *America* was *free*, and which every lover of his country would wiſh ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt for ages yet to come.

But ſhould corruption, with deſpotic rage,
Seize the ſtrong pillars that ſupport the ſtate,
Strain ev'ry nerve to pull deſtruction down,
To blend in ruins freedom and her ſons,
And cruſh our growing empire in its youth,
Then let us rouze ſubmiſſion from her knees,
And ſtand like heroes firm in its defence;
Then let one ſpirit of a BRUTUS *reign,*
And martial ſounds be muſic to each ear;
While ſome *great prince of* BRUNSWICK'S *glorious line*
Ranks our wide armies, and inſpires to war.
Thus ſhall we ſee and triumph in the fight,
While malice frets, and fumes, and gnaws her chains,
AMERICA *ſhall blaſt her fierceſt foes,*
Shall brave the diſmal ſhocks of bloody war,
And in unrivall'd pomp reſplendent riſe,
And ſhine ſole *empreſs of the weſtern world!*



DUTCH FANS,

FOR cleaning wheat or any other kind of grain, are made and ſold by ADAM EKART, in Market ſtreet, Philadelphia. Likewiſe rolling ſcreens, ſieves for ſifting iron ore, &c. warranted of the beſt make; alſo all ſorts of wire work, for cleaning wheat, barley, rye, flax ſeed, Indian corn, oats, or any other kind of grain, and wire ſhort-cloths for millers. The ſame to be had of captain Matthew Phripp, in Norfolk.

CARRIAGES of various ſorts and prices to be ſold by ELKANAH DEANE, coachmaker, at his ſhop in Palace ſtreet, Williamſburg, who makes all kinds of coaches, chariots, poſtchaiſes, phætons, curricles, chairs, and chaiſes, with harneſs of every ſort. Carriages of every kind are repaired, painted, gilded, and japanned, in the beſt manner, and on the moſt reaſonable terms, for caſh. Gentlemen or ladies reſiding in the country, by ſending their commands to ſaid Deane, may depend on being well uſed, and their commands executed with the greateſt care and diſpatch. He returns his unfeigned thanks to thoſe gentlemen and ladies who have favoured him with their cuſtom, and is determined to make it his ſtudy to pleaſe all who are kind enough to employ him. ——Being in want of a few more JOURNEYMEN, he will give the following prices, provided they are good hands: For every chair body, ſingle or double, according to my directions, I will give four pounds, for every chair carriage eighteen ſhillings, for every pair of wheels 22 ſhillings, and ſo in proportion for all other work. I would willingly take too or three apprentices who have been genteelly brought up, and tolerably educated; no others need apply.—Said Deane has ſome choice brandy, gin, rum, and ſeveral kind of cordials; ſuch as anniſeed water, orange ditto, clove ditto, allfours, cherry brandy, and raſberry ditto; all which he will diſpoſe of on reaſonable terms, for caſh, to thoſe who will take a quantity.

THE ſubſcriber, of Suſſex county, being under the diſagreeable neceſſity of taking this method of acquainting the public that his wife Sarah Northington has left his bed and board, therefore forewarns all perſons from truſting her on his account, as he will pay no debts of her contracting.

May 5, 1774. SAMUEL NORTHINGTON.

JUST arrived in York river, the Brilliant, Captain Miller, from London, with a choice healthy indented SERVANTS, the ſale of which will begin at Richmond town on Wedneſday the 25th of May; among which are the following tradeſmen, viz. blackſmiths, braſiers, edgetool makers, bricklayers and plaſterers, ſhoemakers, ſtone maſons, carpenters, joiners and cabinetmakers, cloth weavers, ſtocking weavers, barbers and perukemakers, gardeners, farmers, labourers and huſbandmen, book-keepers and ſchoolmaſters, tailors, ſilkdyers, bakers, painters, leatherdreſſers, ſawyers, butchers, a ſteward, groom, ſurgeon, &c. I will ſell them very cheap, for ready money, or tobacco; and for thoſe on credit, bond and ſecurity will be required.

THOMAS SMITH.

To be SOLD, on the 6th day of June, at the late dwellinghouſe of Mr. Robinſon Daingerfield, deceaſed, in King & Queen county,

ALL the houſhold and kitchen furniture, moſt of which are very good, a parcel of good books, a large and ſmall microſcope, and a perſpective glaſs, with views. Twelve months credit will be given for all ſums above forty ſhillings, on giving bond, with good ſecurity; thoſe bonds that are not paid off at the day to carry intereſt from the date.

THOMAS LOWRY, }
2* W. DAINGERFIELD, } adminiſtrators.

I HAVE for ſale 481 acres of land adjoining the lands of James Bates, deceaſed, on Skiminoe creek, in York county. The land is very convenient to Williamſburg, to three pariſh churches, quakers meetinghouſe, ſeveral griſtmills, two warehouſes, and a navigable landing. It is well timbered with oak ſuitable for framing, ſcantling, fire wood, and fencing. This land joins Fleming Bates, who will ſhew the ſame to any perſon inclinable to purchaſe; and I do authorize the ſaid Fleming Bates to ſell the ſame, and will abide by whatever agreement he may make. 2* JOHN BATES.

STRAYED, or ſtolen, from the ſubſcriber, in Williamſburg, on Sunday the 1ſt of May, a white mare, about 13 hands one or two inches high, with a hanging mane and tail, paces and gallops, one of her hips rather higher than the other. I bought her of one William Archer, from Louiſa county. I do not recollect that ſhe has any brand. Whoever brings the ſaid mare to me ſhall be well rewarded for their trouble, and all reaſonable charges paid. JOHN HOLT.

GEORGE the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. To the ſheriff of Hampſhire county, greeting: We command you that you ſummon Charles Lynch to appear before the juſtices of our ſaid county court of chancery on the ſecond Tueſday of next month, to anſwer a bill in chancery, exhibited againſt him and Abraham Hite, gentlemen, by Matthey Buſh, of the city of Philadelphia, and province of Pennſylvania; and this he ſhall in no wiſe omit, under the penalty of 100l. and have then there this writ. Witneſs Gabriel Jones, clerk of our ſaid court, this 14th day of April, in the 14th year of our reign. 3 GABRIEL JONES.

COMMITTED to Glouceſter gaol, the 13th of this inſtant (May) a negro man who calls himſelf by the name of William, and ſays he belongs to Peter Funnell, of New England, and has been abſent from thence ten years; he is about 25 years of age, about 5 feet 10 inches high, ſpeaks a little broken, much pockpitted, and has a very particular ſcar on his noſe. He ſays he has ſailed to many parts of Europe and America. His maſter may have him on proving his property, and paying charges.

WILLIAM SMITH, gaoler.

COMMITTED to the gaol of Northumberland, on the 2d of May, a negro man who calls himſelf Charles, and ſays he belongs to Mr. John Booth, in Amelia. He was purchaſed by Samuel Griffin of John Blackwell's eſtate. He is a well ſet fellow, and about 25 years old. The owner is deſired to apply for him.

3† JOHN CRAIN, gaoler.

TAKEN up, in Buckingham, ſix hogs, three of which are barrows, with bob tails, the others are ſows; they are all black and white, with a crop and two ſlits in the right ear, and half the under part of the left taken off, in the manner of a fox's ear; they are all about one year old. Poſted, and appraiſed to 2l. 5s.

† SETH CASON.

TAKEN up, in Culpeper, a black horſe, about 4 feet 8 or 9 inches high, about 7 years old, has a ſmall ſtar in his forehead, and branded on the near ſhoulder and buttock P. Poſted, and appraiſed to 17l.

† NATHANIEL PENDLETON.

TAKEN up, in Culpeper, a black cow and calf, the cow marked with a ſmall crop in each ear, and then ſlit down and cut out. Likewiſe a red brindled heifer, about 2 or 3 years old, marked with an underkeel in the left ear, and ſwallowfork in the right. The cow and calf are appraiſed to 4l. and the heifer to 1l. 10s.

† JAMES SLAUGHTER, jun.

TAKEN up, in Loudoun, near Weſt's tavern, a ſmall light brindle cow, appears to be 9 or 10 years old, has a white face, and ſome white under her belly, has on a middle ſized bell, tied with a rope, marked on the right ear, with a crop, ſlit, and ſwallowfork in the left. Poſted, and appraiſed to 2l. 5s.

‡ JOHN TAYLOR.

TAKEN up, in Amherſt, a black mare, 4 feet 5 inches high, 13 or 15 years old, with a white ſpot on her right buttock, a ſtar in her forehead, and branded on the near buttock with 3 dots; ſhe had on a bell. Poſted, and appraiſed to 6l.

§ WILLIAM LAVENDER.

TAKEN up, in Lunenburg, a bay horſe, about 9 or 10 years old, 4 feet 6 inches high, has ſome ſaddle ſpots, and branded on the off buttock and ſhoulder HC. Poſted, and appraiſed to 10l.

† RICHARD STONE, ſenior.

TAKEN up, in Dunmore, a dark bay mare, about 4 feet 6 inches high, branded on the near buttock HF, has a ſtar in her forehead, newly ſhod before, with a bell on, and paces naturally. Poſted, and appraiſed to 8l.

* LAWRENCE SNAPP.